1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Outside, the guests eat. In the old days in many places a friend of the groom provided a tub of *seksu*, so large and so full that it took four men to carry it, lifting it by chain handles on the sides, and ten men could sit around it eating at once. Another man would bring a spouted pot full of honey mixed with melted butter, which he would pour on the *seksu* as dry spots were uncovered. When a guest was through he made way for another, and when all were through they re-assembled and threw coins as a gift to the groom into what remained of the *seksu*. The usual amount for each to throw in was a dollar. Since the discontinuance of the practice of serving such large tubs of *seksu*, the money is thrown into smaller bowls of *seksu* and into brass trays. Sometimes enemies or rivals throw increasingly large sums into the *seksu* in order to shame and exceed each other until one has run out of funds, when the other gloats over his rival's discomfiture. When a man thus runs out of money he may throw in cartridges, knives, or any other negotiable object. One famous instance is related wherein a man led his mule into the room and backed it into the tub, after he had thrown in everything else he possessed but his clothes.

Defloration of the bride does not necessarily take place on this night, since the couple is often extremely shy, especially if both are very young. If coitus takes place on the final night of the wedding, a portion of the bride's clothing or a cloth specially intended for the purpose is passed through the door and around among the guests, as proof of the bride's virginity. If the defloration takes place on a later occasion, the family of the groom holds a rapidly assembled celebration, called the *shahad er ḫreir*, to celebrate the event. If the bride is not a virgin the groom may send her home and get his money back, or may keep her and get back a portion of his money. In case he is fond of her he may do nothing about it, postponing the official defloration until some time when he can falsify the tokens of virginity. Such indulgence usually happens only when it is the groom who has deflowered her before marriage. If he keeps her without making any such exhibition, real or false, no action is taken by the community, but the couple starts its married life with an unsavory reputation. Fear of incurring the wrath of the bride's family sometimes prevents the groom from sending back a hymenless bride, much as he may wish to do so.

There is a tradition in the Rif that the *jus primae noctis* was formerly practiced in certain tribes of the Werghan Senhaja: a certain man from el Kelaa of Beni Ulid was sent for to attend weddings in Beni Wenjin, Marnissa, Fenassa, Ulad Asam, Beni Koras, Bu Adl, Zrarka, and Beni Krama, where he was feasted during all the days of the ceremony, and on the night of the bride's arrival deflowered and then left her. The man is said to be dead and the custom discontinued. The Riffians tell the story as a joke on the Senhajans, and although this circumstance does not necessarily render the tale false it does not increase its chances of being true.

The marriage of a divorced woman is everywhere carried out with less ceremony than that of a girl who is being married for the first time. In the area in which the *sabḫain erraṭḫ* is chanted, the brother of a divorced woman does not mount on the mule behind her. The same is true of the marriage of a widow.

Residence of the couple after marriage may be matrilocal, patrilocal, in the house of a brother of the groom, or, when possible, in a separate house. Matrilocal residence occurs when the groom is a newcomer to the *bone* and serves the bride's father, as a share-laborer; residence in the house of the groom's father or brother takes place when the groom is not wealthy enough to build a new house or buy an unoccupied one; residence in the house of

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

591 the brother instead of that of the father depends on whether or not the father is living, and whether or not the brother has paid for the wedding, for the bride, or for both.

587 In the case of the levirate, which has been discussed under inheritance, the newly-married widow usually remains with her children in the house of her first husband, to which the new husband comes as a visitor rather than as a regular occupant. All wives who have been married in any way other than through the levirate usually live in the same house together.

Not only is the levirate a common feature of Riffian society, but the sororate is also practiced. A man whose wife dies young is expected to marry one of her sisters in her place, and no fee is demanded for the second one. A man cannot, however, marry his wife's sister during the lifetime of the first one.

595 Polygyny in the Rif is more often the result of the function of the levirate than the wholly voluntary marriage of more than one wife. Only men of unusual wealth ordinarily marry more than one wife from choice. Women given a man of a different *bone* by means of a magical compulsion, the purpose of which is the alliance of the two *bones*, form an additional class of plural wives.

589 Such is the social economy of the Riffians that spinsters are practically non-existent.

DIVORCE

586 If a husband and his wife both desire a divorce, the clerk gives her a paper making her free to remarry and she goes back to the house of her parents.

If the wife desires a divorce and the husband does not, the wife may go to the house of her parents to live. If she remains there more than fifteen days without returning to her husband's house she is automatically divorced and is entitled to a paper to that effect from the clerk. This procedure is not as easy as it sounds, however, since the woman's parents may object to the divorce and send her back again by force.

The husband may send envoys, usually his father and brothers, to the house of his wife's parents to slaughter a goat and prepare a meal there, which action serves as a magical compulsion upon the owner of the house to accede to their wishes. The ultimate decision as to whether or not the wife remains all of the fifteen days depends upon the attitude of her parents, the strength of her husband's desire to get her back, and the relative importance of the two *reins* involved. If the wife is from a different *bone* from that of the husband serious hostilities may result.

A husband seldom divorces a wife against her will except for infidelity, but he may divorce her for lesser offenses if he desires or dares. He may if he wishes divorce her for failure to bear him children, though in this case he usually marries a second wife and keeps the first one as well.

A woman who wishes to be divorced and cannot, on account of the opposition of her family and of her husband, may run away from the tribe with her lover, if she has one; or alone, if she has not and is sufficiently courageous. Women who have run away on account of unfortunate marriages or as a consequence of being caught in adultery sometimes go to Fez and become prostitutes. So much trouble can be caused a man by a wife whom he has married against her will that few men are willing to undertake the liability of doing so.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The *thārfiqth* is bound together not only by recognized kinship ties, but by those of common interest as well. The strongly cohesive character of the group as a social and an economic unit is reinforced by the institution of the levirate, in which a man marries his brother's widow and by that of the sororate, in which a widower marries his wife's sister; but there is no sororal polygyny, which is forbidden by Islām. The frequency with which the levirate, in particular, occurs can probably be correlated with the prevalence of blood feuds in the Rīf; it was a strong factor in reducing to a minimum disturbances of equilibrium within the group caused by the loss of one of its members. Polygyny in Aith Wuryāghil appears to been more often a result of the function of the levirate than a matter of personal choice, for most Wuryāghlis are monogamous through economic necessity; (7) the only cases of polygynous marriages which I know of personally are, generally speaking, those of important tribal functionaries: *jārīs*, *muqaddams*, *shaikhs*, *qā'ids* and *qāḍīs*. The status of women is much the same as in other tribal areas of the Muslim world; in day to day life, the wife is her husband's companion in the house and in the fields, and in the old days she even followed him into battle if necessary. She is given maximum consideration during motherhood, particularly when she presents sons to her spouse to continue the martial tradition of the group. Although she goes about unveiled, her husband is exceedingly jealous, and adultery caught in the act is still punishable by death.

The size and power of the *thārfiqth* is augmented by landless strangers who have emigrated from their own villages or tribes or fled from them because of some crime they have committed. These strangers contract work as *ikhammāsen* for the *jājghū* heads, and in time they may marry the latters' daughters. In this case the incipient *jājghū* which is formed when children are born is matronymic, taking the name of its mother rather than of its father because of his lack of prestige; rules of residence are then matrilocal, by the same token.

(7) Coon, Carleton Stevens: **Tribes of the Rif**, Harvard African Studies, vol. IX, Cambridge, Mass., 1931. Coon gives awar (properly azwar), or «vein», and ighs, or «bone», corresponding to jajghu and tharfiqth respectively, as the fundamental Riffian social units. The difference between his terminology and mine may be due to the fact that the bulk of his data comes from Giznaya. In Aith Wuryaghil the word ighs refers only to a bone in the body and emphatically not to a social grouping.

586 [587] a) Suspension of Marriage:--If through the absence of her husband, the bride goes home and is reintegrated with her family, the husband then cedes all rights and obligations with the exception of property; but the wife cannot remarry unless she has her husband's consent.[33]

b) Dissolution of Marriage:--This may come about only through death or divorce, the latter being an act which only a man can initiate, and a woman cannot.

462 c) Division of Labor:--Women care for children, keep house, prepare food (grind grain, fetch water, wood and fodder for the animals), wash clothes, and cook. They help reap the cereal harvest (in mid-summer) and carry the straw from the threshing floor to the house. At plowing time (in autumn), they sometimes carry the seed[34] and do the weeding (in early spring). They also bake the bread and care for the oven (located just outside the house). Men's affairs may be subsumed under the headings of war, agriculture, religion, and buying-and-selling; house-building, hunting, fishing[35], cutting trees and brushwood for charcoal, woodwork, reedwork, ironwork[36], wickerwork, work in palmetto and esparto, weaving, sewing[37], and burial rites and attendance at funerals.

562 d) Relations between the Sexes:--Men represent, direct, protect and administer. Women advise, help and obey. Men's work is free, external and primary, women's work subordinate, internal and secondary. Men administer their possessions as they wish, while women can neither alienate nor obtain anything[38]. Men have freedom of movement while women (theoretically) cannot receive visits from

571 against the actual jobholder did not influence the Spanish authorities,
557 he resorted to his supreme argument, the great length of time that he had held the office in question previously and that now his turn had come again--it was time to shift office holders, as the Spaniards themselves did with their own governments and political positions!

594 f) Filial Society:--The Rifian (nuclear) family may be com-
595 posed of the father, several (i.e. up to and including four)[44] wives,
847 and legitimate children. Illegitimate children, along with their
848 mothers, are killed, and today, the mother of an illegitimate child usually kills it herself if her husband does not already notice it (or her).

768 g) Dissolution of Family:--This occurs only through the death
[587] of the father. When he dies, his eldest son takes over his duties as head of the family, if he is of age (i.e. old enough to do so); if not, the father's brother assumes this position and marries his brother's widow[45].

592 h) Family Relationships:--The father is the nuclear family's
593 legal representative and administrator, and he is thus responsible for the faults of its component members. He administers property freely and can disinherit his children. He punishes the members of his family at will, though he does not kill or wound them. He has the authority to marry off his daughters and sons, although in practice he may be thwarted by opposition on his children's part; the latter, if they are sons, may leave home, and, if they are daughters possessing a measure of spirit, they will be disgusted (by their father's behavior). The father distributes work equitably and evenly.

423 Property going to females, either to widows or daughters,
428 tends not to be disruptive since their control over their inher-
562 itance is minimized by law and social custom. Because of the
[587] practice of levirate, traditionally the widow's property was merely transferred from the effective management of one brother to that of another. Whether or not the widow marries a brother of her deceased husband, she can in no case sell her property without the permission of her husband's family.

562 The case of daughter inheritance is somewhat more dis-
428 ruptive. While widows generally remain within their deceased
[768] husband's family for the protection this affords, daughters marry out. Thus the daughter as another man's wife has a male champion to press claims for use or sale of the inheritance. To the question of should a man come to farm the land of his wife or demand a portion of its production, my informants state that technically he could do so but that no man would want to do this and that to their knowledge no man has ever done so.

428 The prevailing mechanism for avoiding disputes over the
431 inheritance of a daughter is a gift exchange between a man and
578 his sister's husband. If, for example, A's sister has married B,
182 B holds certain theoretical rights over his wife's land. A, on
607 the other hand, generally cultivates the land. B does not exer-
562 cise his claim, and indeed the community would disapprove if he did so. However, it is also considered appropriate for A when he visits his sister, to give B's household certain goods, processed barley, fruit, or whatever, which compensate for B's